

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02004 01 OF 02 051545Z
ACTION H-03

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INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMCONSUL JOHAPNESBURG
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 2004

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

PRETORIA ALSO FOR AMBASSADOR LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP (HAYAKAWA, S.I.) ZA WA RH
SUBJ: CODEL HAYAKAWA: LUSAKA MEETINGS

1. SUMMARY: DURING BRIEF 22-HOUR STOP IN LUSAKA JUNE 2 AND 3, CODEL HAYAKAWA MET WITH ZAPU OFFICIALS, PRESIDENT KAUNDA, MEMBERS OF THE SWAPO EXECUTIVE, AND VISITED THE NAMIBIA INSTITUTE. IN MEETING WITH ZAPU, THE SENATOR OFFERED TO ORGANIZE A MEETING OF PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT. HE CLOSELY QUESTIONED PRESIDENT KAUNDA ON THE MORAL BASIS OF SUPPORT FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. SWAPO OFFICIALS REITERATED THEIR POSITION ON THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS FOR NAMIBIA. FINALLY, NAMIBIA INSTITUTE OFFICIALS DESCRIBED THE INSTITUTE'S FUNCTIONS AND EXPRESSED THANKS FOR USG FINANCIAL SUPPORT. ALTHOUGH SHORT, THE VISIT WAS PROBABLY USEFUL TO ALL CONCERNED. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02004 01 OF 02 051545Z

2. ZAPU: SENATOR HAYAKAWA AND STAFF MET WITH ZAPU OFFICIALS JOHN NKOMO, SAMUEL MUNODAWAFA, AND CHEWJARAI HUNZVI IMMEDIATELY AFTER THEIR ARRIVAL IN LUSAKA JUNE 2. THE TWO-HOUR MEETING WAS CORDIAL AND CONFINED PRIMARILY TO DEFINING POSITIONS. THE ZAPU OFFICIALS WERE UNWILLING TO AGREE THAT ANYTHING POSITIVE WAS INCORPORATED IN THE SALISBURY INTERNAL AGREEMENT AND REJECTED

OUT OF HAND ANY IDEA OF COMPETING FOR POWER IN THE CONTEXT OF THAT AGREEMENT. THEY CONSTANTLY RETURNED TO THE ARGUMENT THAT THERE IS NOW A WAR SITUATION IN RHODESIA AND STRONGLY IMPLIED THAT THOSE FIGHTING THE WAR SHOULD INHERIT POWER. JOHN NKOMO DESCRIBED THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT AS A HALF-WAY STEP TO INDEPENDENCE--THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (PF) WANTED COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE. THE PF CANNOT ACCEPT SPECIAL PRIVILEGES FOR ANY GROUP, INCLUDING THE WHITES.

3. SENATOR HAYAKAWA PINPOINTED THE DEEP DISTRUST EXISTING BETWEEN THE PF AND SMITH. HE ASKED IF THERE WAS NO WAY WHEREBY BOTH WHITES AND BLACKS IN RHODESIA COULD LOOK AT EACH OTHER AND THE PROBLEMS THEY FACE WITH FRESH EYES. ZAPU OFFICIALS REJECTED THIS CONCEPT, STRESSING THE BITTERNESS THEY FELT FROM YEARS OF MISTREATMENT AT THE HANDS OF THE WHITES. THE SENATOR FOCUSED ON THE NEED FOR COMMUNICATION FOR THE PARTIES TO A CONFLICT, A FACTOR WITH WHICH HE HAD MUCH EXPERIENCE THROUGH HIS STUDIES OF THE SEMANTICS OF CONFLICTS RESOLUTION. HE SUGGESTED THAT ALL THOSE CONCERNED SHOULD GET TOGETHER SOME PLACE OUT OF THE LIMELIGHT WHERE TRUE COMMUNICATION COULD TAKE PLACE. HE OFFERED TO HELP PROMOTE AND ORGANIZE SUCH A MEETING AND IN WHICH HE WOULD ACT AS "ANALYST." THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE RESPONSE EITHER POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE TO THIS IDEA, BUT THE ZAPU OFFICIALS APPEARED SOMEWHAT INTRIGUED.

4. PRESIDENT KAUNDA: THE CODEL HAD AN EARLY MEETING WITH
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PAGE 03 LUSAKA 02004 01 OF 02 051545Z

PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND ADVISOR MARK CHONA ON JUNE 3. THE SESSION WAS A LIVELY EXCHANGE IN WHICH THE SENATOR QUESTIONED THE MORAL BASE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES WHO ENGAGE IN MURDER AND VIOLENCE. HE ASKED HOW ANY HONEST AND MORAL GROUP COULD DEFEND ITS THESIS OF DEFENDING BLACKS WHILE IT WAS KILLING BLACKS. HE NOTED THAT THOSE BEING KILLED WERE NOT ONLY SOLDIERS, BUT ALSO INNOCENT VILLAGERS. KAUNDA AND CHONA VIGOROUSLY ARGUED THAT VIOLENCE CONTINUED BECAUSE SMITH DID NOT REALLY WANT A SETTLEMENT. IF HE DID, THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WERE THERE TO BE EMPLOYED. HIS REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE UK/US PLAN PROVES HIS LACK OF SINCERITY.

5. KAUNDA AND CHONA QUESTIONED THE FACTUAL BASE ON WHICH SENATOR HAYAKAWA HAD FORMED HIS OPINIONS. THEY SAID A BIASED WORLD PRESS DEPENDED ON SMITH-MANAGED NEWS SOURCES FOR ITS INFORMATION AND THE VIOLENCE OF THE SMITH REGIME WAS NOT GIVEN PUBLICITY. KAUNDA SAID HE DID NOT DEFEND THE KILLINGS BUT SAID THERE WAS A LIMIT TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF NON-VIOLENCE. HE POINTED TO THE RESORT TO VIOLENCE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO GAIN ITS FREEDOM THROUGH REVOLUTION. THE MEETING CLOSED WITH A PLEA FROM KAUNDA FOR SENATOR HAYAKAWA TO SPEND MORE TIME IN SOUTHERN AFRICA SO HE COULD LEARN MORE ABOUT THE TRUE SITUATION.

6. SWAPO: VICE PRESIDENT MUYONGO AND INFORMATION SECRETARY KATJAVIVI REPRESENTED SWAPO AT DISCUSSIONS WITH SENATOR HAYAKAWA AND HIS STAFF. AT THE SENATOR'S REQUEST MUYONGO OUTLINED THE HISTOUICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NAMIBIA. HE THEN PRESENTED THE STANDARD SWAPO POSITION ON THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS: 1) NEED TO DEFINE STATUS OF WALVIS BAY; 2) SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS MUST BE IN THE SOUTH; 3) SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD BE SENIOR TO THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL; AND 4) SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE COULD MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER DURING TRANSITION, BUT THEY SHOULD BE DISARMED AND PLACED UNDER UN COMMAND. MUYONGO STRESSED THAT SWAPO WAS SUSPICIOUS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS. HE AND OTHERS IN HIS GROUP BELIEVE THAT CONTACT GROUP HAD GIVEN ASSURANCES TO SOUTH AFRICA WHICH WERE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LUSAKA 02004 01 OF 02 051545Z

UNACCEPTABLE TO SWAPO. HE MENTIONED SPECIFICALLY THE SUSPICION THAT THE CONTACT GROUP HAD ASSURED SOUTH AFRICA THAT ITS TROOPS COULD REMAIN UNTIL NEW GOVERNMENT ASKS THEM TO LEAVE.

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02004 02 OF 02 051543Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 2004

7. MUYONGO SAID THE CASSINGA RAID WAS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR SWAPO NOT CONTINUING ITS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CONTACT GROUP. CASSINGA HAD BEEN A TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE; THERE WERE 812 DEAD AND 462 WOUNDED. SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA HAD DEMANDED THE PRESENCE OF SWAPO'S TOP OFFICIALS. ONCE SWAPO HAS GOTTEN ITS HOUSE IN ORDER, IT WILL BE PREPARED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FIVE. WITH SOME VEHEMENCE, MUYONGO SAID SWAPO WOULD RESIST ALL "ARM TWISTING." HE ADDED THAT SWAPO RECOGNIZED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WANTS SWAPO TO TURN DOWN THE PROPOSALS; THIS, HE SAID, WOULD NEVER HAPPEN. KATJAVIVI AND MUYONGO BOTH EXPRESSED, AFTER THE MEETING, THEIR PLEASURE AT HAVING HAD THE CHANCE TO MEET WITH SENATOR HAYAKAWA, WHOSE INTEREST IN THEIR PROBLEMS THEY FOUND SINCERE.

8. NAMIBIA INSTITUTE: THE FINAL LUSAKA APPOINTMENT FOR THE CODEL WAS WITH DIRECTOR HAGE GEINGOB AT THE UN INSTITUTE FOR NAMIBIA. ALSO ATTENDING WERE DEPUTY DIRECTOR BOMANI AND SEVERAL OF THE INSTITUTE'S TEACHING STAFF. GEINGOB GAVE THE SENATOR A BASIC BRIEFING ON THE INSTITUTE'S HISTORY AND
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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02004 02 OF 02 051543Z

PURPOSE. IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR HAYAKAWA'S QUESTIONS, GEINGOB AND THE OUTERS OUTLINED THE INSTITUTE'S CURRICULUM, SOURCES OF FINANCING, AND PLANS FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. GEINGOB EXPRESSED SPECIAL THANKS FOR THE GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH HAVE COME FROM THE US GOVERNMENT AND SAID HE HOPED THAT SUPPORT WOULD CONTINUE. THE CODEL WAS CONDUCTED ON A TOUR OF THE INSTITUTE'S FACILITIES BEFORE DEPARTING FOR THE AIRPORT.

9. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE VISIT TO LUSAKA WAS VERY BRIEF, IT PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CODEL TO BE EXPOSED TO THE THINKING OF KEY OFFICIALS OF ZAPU AND SWAPO, AS WELL AS TO ENGAGE IN A DIALOGUE WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA--A MAJOR SUPPORTER OF BOTH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. IT WAS ALSO USEFUL FOR KAUNDA AND THE NATIONALISTS TO GAIN THE VIEWS OF A MORALLY CRITICAL AND INFLUENTIAL AMERICAN SENATOR WHO IS NOT OPEN TO THE CHARGE OF BEING RACIALLY BIASED IN FAVOR OF THE WHITE REGIMES.
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